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Vol. XVII, No. 4

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## Education for Citizenship

Reviews the literature for the three-year period since the issuance of  
Volume XIV, No. 4, October 1944.

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
Introduction .....	257
I. General Education .....	258
KARL W. BIGELOW, <i>Teachers College, Columbia University, New York</i>	
II. Intergroup Education .....	266
LLOYD A. COOK, <i>Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan</i>	
III. The Social Studies .....	279
ROY A. PRICE, RICHARD W. BURKHARDT, and VICTOR MINOTTI, <i>Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York</i>	
IV. Adult Education for Citizenship .....	293
HOWARD Y. MCCLUSKY, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan</i>	

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*Robert L. Williams*  
11-17-47

This issue of the REVIEW was prepared by  
the Committee on Education for Citizenship

HOWARD Y. MCCLUSKY, *Chairman*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,  
Michigan

LLOYD A. COOK, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan

STANLEY E. DIMOND, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan

JAMES E. MENDENHALL, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C.

PAUL H. SHEATS, University of California, Los Angeles, California

with the assistance of

KARL W. BIGELOW, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York,  
New York

RICHARD W. BURKHARDT, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

VICTOR MINOTTI, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

ROY A. PRICE, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

The name of the author is not known.

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## INTRODUCTION

IN PLANNING the sixth cycle of the REVIEW, the Editorial Board elected to divide the October 1944 number into two separate issues entitled Education for Work and Family Living and Education for Citizenship. Education for Work and Family Living appeared in June, 1947. Materials on Education for Citizenship are appraised in the following pages of this issue.

The committee was instructed to cover the topics, general education, social studies, and trends in social education of the previous cycle and such branches of adult education as pertain to social studies, intercultural education, international understanding, and civic political education.

In spite of the importance of the subject, the present state of publication did not permit the inclusion of data on adult education for international understanding. Later committees will undoubtedly have more adequate material in this area to draw on. For trends in social education, the committee substituted a chapter on intergroup education, because intergroup education is a major trend in the field and much trend material is contained in the chapter on the social studies. Care was exercised, of course, to avoid duplication with a related chapter in the February 1946 number of the REVIEW.

This number is a new entity in the cycle of the REVIEW. The committee makes no pretension of having definitely blocked out the limits of the field, but hopes that it has begun the task of delineation so that the work of successors will be facilitated.

HOWARD Y. McCLUSKY, *Chairman*  
*Committee on Education for Citizenship*

## CHAPTER I

### General Education

KARL W. BIGELOW

THE three-year period covered by this review was opened by the publication of a significant report (1) on general education prepared by a committee of the American Council on Education at the request of the armed forces. This document defined general education as embracing "those phases of nonspecialized and nonvocational education that should be the common possession, the common denominator, so to speak, of educated persons as individuals and as citizens in a free society." (1: 14-15) It also included a list of objectives of general education, stated as follows:

... In the committee's judgment, general education should lead the student: \*

1. To improve and maintain his own health and take his share of responsibility for protecting the health of others

2. To communicate through his own language in writing and speaking at the level of expression adequate to the needs of educated people

3. To attain a sound emotional and social adjustment through the enjoyment of a wide range of social relationships and the experience of working cooperatively with others

4. To think through the problems and to gain the basic orientation that will better enable him to make a satisfactory family and marital adjustment

5. To do his part as an active and intelligent citizen in dealing with the interrelated social, economic, and political problems of American life and in solving the problems of postwar international reconstruction

6. To act in the light of an understanding of the natural phenomena in his environment in its implications for human society and human welfare, to use scientific methods in the solution of his problems, and to employ useful nonverbal methods of thought and communication

7. To find self-expression in literature and to share through literature man's experience and his motivating ideas and ideals

8. To find a means of self-expression in music and in the various visual arts and crafts, and to understand and appreciate art and music as reflections both of individual experience and of social patterns and movements

9. To practice clear and integrated thinking about the meaning and value of life

10. To choose a vocation that will make optimum use of his talents and enable him to make an appropriate contribution to the needs of society

From a survey of the general outcomes, it may seem that the committee omitted one of the most important aims of general education, the ability to think rigorously and critically. The committee took the position, however, that this ability should be developed and applied as an integral aspect of the learning process throughout the educational program. The knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes involved in critical and reflective thinking should be emphasized as the necessary tools for the analysis and solution of problems in all fields.

\* The committee is aware that some of these objectives are closely related and could be subsumed under fewer categories. Certain aspects of general education have frequently been neglected, however, and therefore it seemed desirable to give these phases emphasis by specific statement.

The body of the report was given over to an analysis of the declared objectives and (in larger part) to detailed suggestions as to courses for a program of general education in the armed forces.

The American Council report was focused on general education at the college level. An equally significant report (31), published by the Educational Policies Commission at about the same time, was concerned with secondary education, but included the junior or community college under that heading. It argued that

every youth in these United States . . . should experience a broad and balanced education which will (1) equip him to enter an occupation suited to his abilities and offering reasonable opportunity for personal growth and social usefulness; (2) prepare him to assume the full responsibilities of American citizenship; (3) give him a fair chance to exercise his right to the pursuit of happiness; (4) stimulate intellectual curiosity, engender satisfaction in intellectual achievement, and cultivate the ability to think rationally; and (5) help him to develop an appreciation of the ethical values which should undergird all life in a democratic society. (32: 21)

The Policies Commission report recommended, for purposes of general education, a course in "Common Learnings," continuous thru grades ten to fourteen, inclusive, with two periods allotted to it daily for the first four years and one during the junior college years. This was to deal, in integrated fashion, with matters of politics, economics, the family, consumption, the arts, and language so as to develop thinking power, respect for others and cooperation, ethical insights, efficiency, and self-reliance (32: 249-50). Science was proposed as a separate course in general education in grade ten. Heavy emphasis on guidance and on the relating of general education to community needs was recommended. All these ideas received further emphasis in the eighth yearbook of the John Dewey Society (22).

The courses in general education recommended by the American Council committee were a blend of the conventional and the functional; those prepared by the Educational Policies Commission went much further in the direction of functionalism and integration. In interesting contrast with both was the pattern designed for Harvard by a committee which spent two years and a considerable sum of money studying general education for that university. Its report (15) recommended adaptation of the divisional plan, with at least one general course to be taken in the natural sciences, in the social sciences, and in the humanities, respectively, and three more to be selected at will from among these areas. The development of special courses for the purpose of general education was proposed, however, and significant emphasis was laid on the importance of finding teachers interested and able to instruct general students as contrasted with specialists. Moreover, the Harvard committee urged that general education be carried on thruout the four undergraduate years, not concentrated in the first two as has become customary in the majority of institutions.

But the Harvard Report's contribution was less in its proposals for Harvard College than in its explorations into the whole question of general education, at both the secondary school and college levels. The committee

saw general education "as education for an informed responsible life in our society," chiefly concerned, therefore, with "the question of common standards and common purposes." Such education should be contrasted with special education which has to do with the development of "competence in a particular lot" (15: 4). In setting forth its views the committee dealt with the significance for general education of such contrasting terms as Jeffersonianism and Jacksonianism, unity and diversity, heritage and change. By and large it inclined to the taking of moderate positions with respect to all these matters. The goals which it chose to emphasize were expressed as "traits and characteristics of mind fostered by education," specifically, the abilities "to think effectively, to communicate thought, to make relevant judgments, to discriminate among values" (15: 64-65). "General education," the committee declared, "must . . . be conceived less as a specific set of books to be read or courses to be given, than as a concern for certain goals of knowledge and outlook and an insistence that these goals be sought after by many means as insistently as are those of specialism" (15: 80).

### Some Individual Views

Conant (9), following the publication of the Policies Commission and Harvard reports (with both of which he had a connection), undertook to demonstrate their compatibility. He was concerned with the implications for general education of the need for greater fluidity in our social and economic life and for the tapping of reservoirs of potential talent. He declared that "the nearer we approach thru education to our avowed goal of equality of opportunity . . . and the better our schools teach and practice the basic tenets of American democracy, the more chance there is for personal liberty as we know it to continue in these United States" (9: 147). He urged primary educational concern with behavior rather than with knowledge, and called for "a vast development of local centers for advanced education beyond high school," especially of public junior colleges and community institutes.

Hutchins (20) restated his well-known views on general education, and Hook (19) published a sustained attack upon them and upon their manifestation at St. John's. Donham (12), impressed by what he had observed in liberal arts and engineering school graduates who attended the graduate school of business administration of which he had been dean, offered specific proposals for a general education that should be integrated within itself and with special education, should develop habits of responsible choice, and should emphasize human relations. Jones (25), stressing the contemporary world crisis, proposed a reorientation of college studies "that may conceivably get us thru the next fifteen or twenty years." He recommended (a) professional or vocational training for all, (b) study of the theory of science and of the application of scientific discoveries to our technology, (c) study of the assumptions and writings



of representative government, (d) study of Russia and the Orient, and (e) study of personal relationships in modern society.

### Particular College Programs

The Harvard committee had paid tribute, in its report, to the pioneer work in general education of Columbia dating from 1919. An appraisal of this experience, with recommendations for next steps, was published by the Columbia College Committee on Plans (6). The various courses constituting the program were described and evaluated, and problems of administration, instruction, facilities, and student life were also considered. The Columbia committee avowed its concern with the education of "the man of thought" so that he "may recognize the continuity of the explosive present with the historical past, and may intelligently use that knowledge . . . to develop his own later usefulness and happiness" (6: 90-91).

Full-dress accounts of a number of other types of general education program also appeared. Henderson first issued a general statement of the Antioch point of view (16) and later (in collaboration with Hall) a more explicit account of the program at that college (17). The end avowed was education "for the good life"—identified with democracy; the means a combination, "in new proportions," of elements of "(a) liberal education, (b) work experience, and (c) development of a sense of group responsibility." The development of Bennington was described and analyzed by B. Jones (24). Here the emphasis has been on student initiative and the creative aspects of learning, general education being thought of as "the education of the individual-as-a-whole in the culture-as-a-whole" (24: 119). Jones drew on evaluations of the Bennington program made for the college by A. C. Eurich and J. H. Cornehlson, Jr.

The special influence of the junior colleges on thought and practice respecting general education has, of course, been considerable. Many would assign terminal responsibility for general education to this type of institution. Sexson and Harbeson (34) represented this point of view in their study of the "New American College," their name for the four-year junior college. The Pasadena Junior College served as their main example, its character as a publicly supported community institution being emphasized. The authors said:

The core curriculum of the New American College may be defined as that group of offerings or body of educational experiences which are so essential to all students, regardless of ultimate educational or vocational plans, that they should be required . . . for graduation. The theory behind it is that certain areas of human need are common to all mankind and that training is required for a satisfactory adjustment within these areas. (35: 242)

The experience and conclusions of another junior college, Stephens, are reported by Johnson and others (23). Here general education for women is the explicit focus. The program developed has been based on

a sustained program of research (under the direction of W. W. Charters) respecting women's needs and the effectiveness of various educational ways of meeting them. Johnson described the program in detail as well as the instruction relating to the humanities, marriage, civic leadership, and communications. The use of clinical technics in education was treated, and the values of extra-class life.

Jarvie (21) described the pattern of general education developed for use in New York State's new Institutes of Applied Arts and Sciences. This pattern is woven out of "basic ideas" in modern science and technology, social science, communication and communication arts, and personal and community health. There is an effort at coordination among the applied general courses, between general and technical courses, and between school activities and community activities.

Many other colleges besides those specifically mentioned have, during and since the war, undertaken to improve their general education programs as reference to the recent periodical literature will reveal. (Consult the heading, "Curriculum: colleges and universities," in the *Education Index*.)

### Various Analyses

Recognition of variations in attitudes toward, and approaches to, general education led Charters (5) to produce a useful systematic classification of "psychological patterns," "subject patterns," and "needs patterns." He favored a form of the latter.

McGrath dealt with the purposes of general education (29) and the factors influencing its development (28). Mackenzie and Evans (27) undertook to clarify current confusions, conflicts, and misunderstandings and to set forth fundamental principles. They saw general education as "a continuous program of life experiences for all . . . [focused] on common needs, . . . interests, . . . problems"; "concerned primarily with people"; and accepting "as its chief responsibility the development of individual and group personality patterns that will free intelligence, and enable all persons to operate rationally in situations where choices and judgments have to be made." Biddle (3) saw the need for a religious and ethical orientation to general education in "a tragic era."

In 1944 Conant (10), speaking at Teachers College, Columbia University, urged the desirability of a "truce" between educators at the secondary school and college levels in the interest, among others, of the development of better programs of general education. As a consequence Teachers College established five joint committees which reported their findings (13) two years later. Three of these committees discussed general education. The first (T. R. McConnell, chairman) dealt with "general education [as] a primary function of a comprehensive school system" (13: 213-18); the second (C. Leslie Cushman, chairman) with "the



character and purposes of general education" (13: 233-38); and the third (Karl W. Bigelow, chairman) with general education as an integral element in teacher education (13: 242-46).

### General Education and Teacher Education

Marked interest in general education was shown by those chiefly concerned with the education of teachers. The topic was extensively dealt with in the reports of and to the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education (2, 7, 8, 33, 35).

Among the Commission's conclusions were the following: that at least three-eighths of the undergraduate work of prospective teachers should be aimed primarily at the objectives of general education; that such work should be spread thruout the four-year program; that it should be organized into relatively large blocks of time, with a conscious effort to increase integration, continuity, and flexibility; that it should include attention to the arts; and that it should be designed to facilitate balanced growth of the prospective teacher as a whole person and the development and strengthening of democratic powers (7: 112-17). Cooper (11) and Bigelow (4) gave further attention to general education for teachers, the former writing with particular reference to developments in colleges of liberal arts.

One of Jones' (25) major concerns was with the preparation of college teachers who could be expected to do superior work in the field of general education. This problem had also been recognized in the Harvard Report (15). More light was thrown on it by Hollis (18) as a result of his study of holders of doctor's degrees. McGrath (30) also analyzed "the chief obstacle in the development of general courses, namely, the shortage of teachers prepared for such instruction."

### Some Special Topics

The importance of direct experience as part of the work of general education was emphasized by various of the writers already mentioned (2, 7, 8, 13, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 33, 35). Lynd (27) dealt at length with field work in this connection, basing her discussion on the program at Sarah Lawrence.

Evaluation in general education was discussed by Troyer and Pace (35) on the basis of experience with the Commission on Teacher Education and elsewhere. Pace (32) has more recently summarized the problems and useful technics. Troyer and others (13: 269-86) have provided inclusive recommendations respecting records and reports in general education.

Customarily administrative arrangements at the college level, notably those relating to departmentalism, have often served as obstacles to the development of new programs of general education. This was noted by several of the writers already mentioned (2, 6, 7, 12, 15). Griffith (14)

gave particular attention to the administration of general education, concluding that "little progress will be made in programs of general education which are indigenous to the whole institution until its horizontally adjusted task forces are given both administrative and budgetary authority."

In concluding, note should be made of the appearance, in October 1946, of a new *Journal of General Education* (published by the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa) and the announcement, for early publication, of the reports of the Cooperative Study of General Education of the American Council on Education. Thus the period under review closed, as it had opened, with significant evidence of the mounting concern with general education, and of the increasing systematic study of the issues and problems related to it.

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## CHAPTER II

### Intergroup Education

LLOYD ALLEN COOK

FIRST impressions of "intergroup education," "intercultural education," "educating for better human relations," and the like, are of a vast literature, recent in origins, increasing rapidly, widely disseminated, moralistic and promotional, and above all, badly confused in aims and practices. It is, for the most part, a goodwill literature, urging everyone to be decent, to act *right*, to act *now*. Beneath this world of words, one senses the great vitality of this newest era in social education, a growing desire over the nation by school and agency people to make inquiries, shape units and courses, direct community action, and at times pause long enough to appraise results.

Our interest here is a research interest, a study of what intergroup education is, how it works, rather than what it should be. And yet it should be said that any effort to organize research findings implies a schema, a framework, so that one must necessarily advance some conception of the field. Except for a brief overview (29), no appraisal of the field has appeared in the REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH. Murra (52) and Edman (25) summarized current materials of use to schools, and Rose (60) has done a good job of analyzing studies bearing on the reduction of prejudices.

#### Nature of the Field

Definition of any field of thought and action is at once a philosophical, a scientific, and a semantic problem, a matter we can only recognize in passing. Judging from some years of observation, mainline interests in intergroup relations are five in number: (1) agencies, conferences, leagues, and bureaus, (2) schools, colleges, and adult education, (3) church departments, (4) mayor's councils on unity, democracy, etc., and (5) state education departments, commissions, and committees.

Aside from a one-group concern (for example, creed, race) versus an inclusive concern, the above bodies differ mainly in language patterns. Some take one label, or advance one set of symbols, some another. Underneath, all are interested in democratic human relations, in full citizen rights for all minority peoples, and in indoctrinating youth along these lines. Research, while present, is of lesser importance by far than ameliorative effort, with most studies best defined as "action research" to further a particular program. Much university research is, of course, an exception.

So far, no single definitive concept has been found to ticket off the exact center of balance in the group relations field. Education connotes a set of operations which differ from religion, as direct action (70) differs

from both. The real rub comes elsewhere. Intercultural, a much used term, must have to do with cultural elements, for instance dress, language, and conduct codes. Thus the label falls short if one's chief interest is in people, how people treat people. Intergroup bespeaks a concern for people in associated living, yet it fails to include two further foci, each of great importance: intragroup behaviors and personality. Human relations is so broad in sweep that it covers up emphases in concrete programs, for example race and creed. From this viewpoint, too, one is likely to slip into a "needs approach" to intergroup problems, a casework or psychiatric effort to adjust the individual, ignoring culture as a cause of human suffering, ignoring also cultural change via groupwise action (31).

To us, *intergroup education* would seem to be the best covering concept. As defined in an experimental teacher-training project (13), intergroup education is an effort "to improve teacher education by furthering a self-initiated trend, the better understanding of human relations in and about the school. Our primary concern is with the nature, workings, and effects in child and adult life of race, creed, immigrant cultures, income levels, and rural-urban heritages."

Whether a student works on one, or all four, of the above axes of human interaction, he will want to know how our society is structured. He will want to know how young people are processed in these forms and norms of living, how they come to hold the views and values they possess. At this point, his interest might well turn to school and other programs for the reduction of prejudices, the teaching of equalitarian intergroup relations, the democratizing of our common life. In all of this, the student will carry along a concern for group study and management technics, for it is these "study-action" methods, rather than specific factual findings, which give to intergroup education a lasting place and function. It is along these lines that research will be reviewed.

### A Theory of Society

Two new leads, each well grounded in empirical research, provide broad points of departure for countless specific studies of so-called majority-minority group relations.

One lead is the vast collection of materials, their analysis and interpretation, made by Myrdal (53) and associates, in all six volumes. To this Swedish social economist, "race relations" in this country are a moral issue. With over-simplification, what he seems to say is, first of all, we are a democracy. This is evidenced in the way average citizens think and talk and act, under influence of high national ideals, laws, and Christian precepts. Next, we do not practice what we preach, with groupwise fears, hatreds, exclusions, mistreatments, all about us. Now one cannot believe something and not act it out, without paying a price. The price we pay for white domination of nonwhite peoples is a bad conscience or else a deep-going unconscious guilt complex. At the conscious



level, our escape is to rationalize, to explain away "the Negro problem" by saying that it does not exist. Lower down, in the subconscious, we develop escape mechanisms, for example aggressive behaviors. The thing to do, the author holds, is to integrate color-castes into our body politic at an equality level, and the way to do it is, in the main, thru "mass education."

Myrdal may indeed have misjudged the complexity of our culture, projecting his own life experience in small, fairly homogeneous Sweden. He may also be at fault in, apparently, explaining all Negro counter-aggression within the race and outside, as a reaction to white discrimination. And yet, all things considered, he has integrated many so-called "contributions to knowledge," made moral sense of otherwise meaningless studies, and put us on the track of values in life and in science. Field tests with twenty teacher educating institutions (13) showed that educators took readily to these viewpoints and, within limits, tried to implement them in action.

The second lead, and far more productive of identifiable research studies, is the caste-class hypothesis as advanced by Warner (69). What Warner sought to find in the now famous "Newburyport (Mass.) Study," was an organizing principle by which the community itself survived. In his words, "all societies seem to place emphasis on one structure which gives form to the total society and integrates the other structures into a social unity." This principle was founded in "a caste-class system," a kind of hierarchical order of superior and inferior status positions. Caste, in this sense, is not to be confused with its Hindu usage, nor is it a Marxian self-conscious grouping. It is simply a concept, a way of looking at people, identifying them by color and lineage and, in our society, penalizing them if they are nonwhite by exploitive action and denial of privilege. Social class, on the contrary, is a much less rigid status order, much more determinative of community integration. Found on both sides of the caste line, individuals move up or down the class ladder thru ability, initiative, luck, and circumstances. Mobility is not easy, and is never great, being manifested in the areawide rating given to an unknown number of cultural factors, for example one's job, ancestry, residence, friends, and education.

Warner has been severely criticized for his statistical methods in stratifying the Newburyport population. He has been charged with underestimating the fluidity of American life, its competitive urban character. More serious, perhaps, he has made class a localistic concept, defined by the value judgments of a given spatial area, hence not readily transferable to other areas. Yet, withal, students have made much use of his hypothesis, with (18, 71) or without modification. Whether we view our way of life as a caste-class order, or as a "success system" as the Lynds suggested in their first *Middletown*, the idea itself throws much light on what one can see and infer about people—their struggle to get ahead, rewards of effort, disadvantaged individuals.

### Socialization of Children

Whatever a society is like will be reflected in its children. Davis and Dollard (19), in a series of case studies, made the first systematic application of the caste-class point of view to child rearing. This study has been followed by more than a score of substantial inquiries, some not published (55). Most illustrative is the Davis and Havighurst (20) survey of about 200 Chicago white and Negro middle and lower class mothers, with the sample divided into four equal groups. Significant statistical differences in child rearing were found as between classes and colors, with the former more important than the latter. Class level agreements, in spite of color differences, were conspicuously present. Among inferences drawn from tabular data are that "middle class practices make children too anxious, too frustrated, for the best mental health," and that lower class levels, again regardless of color, "provide for children a less strict regimen," a more permissive environment, for personality development.

Davis (18) in particular, Davis and Havighurst (21) and Warner and Havighurst (69), have made significant contributions to a systematic sociological theory of child development. While their thought shows the influence of anthropological studies of role, status, and position, which are (aside from motivation) the actual mechanics of social learning, they make less use of these concepts than one might expect (22, 23). Much the same can be said of the Mead-Cooley-Dewey idea of the "self."

An obvious phase of child socialization, and underrated in the above inquiries, is the *group life* of children. This is not the same as "peer cultures," altho the group is the prime agency for their transmission. What is meant is that the group per se, its forms and norms of being, becomes an object to the child, a thing to dream about, fixate on, act toward, escape from, hence a powerful educative experience. Here the work of Anderson (3), Cook (11), Jennings (41), Lewin (47), Smith (63), Whyte (74), even the insight of novelists (51, 62), becomes significant. From such studies, one learns many things: types of groups in child life, age-sex sequences, area influences. One learns how groups get started, enlist a following, develop leadership, organize action, define roles, assign status, discipline members, maintain morale. We are beginning to learn too what can, and cannot, be done to change group structure.

### Prejudice, Nature and Control

"Attitudes, attitude tests, attitude testers!" exclaims Ford (27), as he adds one more study to the 2000-odd published in the last twenty years. If there is any exact center to intergroup education, it is the cluster of attitudes called "prejudice." Or better said, since prejudice is no simple matter, it is the pattern of attitudes, objects, values, and behaviors which leads some people to dislike other people en masse, to fear and hate them,

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to act in ways that symbolize their less-than-humanness. It is the prime purpose of intergroup education to remove prejudice so far as that is possible, to teach people to treat others in terms of personal worth.

What prejudice is, its first appearance among children, what causes it, how it varies with age and sex and in time and place, whether it can be controlled, have been objects of much research. Bruno Lasker (44), two decades ago, reported ethnic prejudices in children aged five to six and argued, mostly from subjective data, that such viewpoints are acquired, not inborn. Ten years later Criswell (16) reported the first sizable, systematic study of children from the kindergarten thru the eighth grade, three-fourths of whom were Negro. By sociographic charting, she found that cleavages between the sexes were, withal, more pronounced than between races, that whites did not withdraw from association with Negroes before the fourth-grade level and do not group up before the fifth. Negroes began to withdraw from whites by the third grade, tho at no grade was racial separation complete. Using a "faces test," a set of mixed photographs, Horowitz (35) found a definite color bias from the kindergarten on up, with own color choices peaking at upper grade levels. After corroborating these findings in another community (36), he explained disagreement with the Criswell work on the basis of differences in community backgrounds or else as due to his own more sensitive study technic.

Meltzer (49) found ethnic antipathies well formed by the fifth grade; Blake and Dennis (5) reported "bad trait stereotyping" of Negro children by whites at the fourth-grade level; Radke (58) discovered that white Gentile children, who had had no direct contact with either Jews or Negroes, had "strong prejudices" toward them by the age of nine years. Allport and Kramer (2) found that prejudiced white college students had unpleasant memories of ethnic group contact dating back to the ages of six to sixteen. Only a fourth of this sample reported their first anti-Jewish feeling after the age of sixteen, a fifth their first anti-Negro feeling.

In view of the evidence, it is unsafe to say what research shows as to the age at which negative feeling toward ethnics first appears, of what it consists, how it varies with social class level and personality structure. Much of our uncertainty is due to faulty study technics, with promising work now appearing on the equal-*i* type of scale (54) and the zero point (32). Unclearly is due also to a great deal of "mote beam" thinking (41), the imputation to others of shortcomings in ourselves. A third stumbling block is the word prejudice. Used to mean anything from vague mistrust thru well-formed imagery to contactual avoidance and big muscle aggressions, the concept has lost utility for scientific purposes. Nobody knows what it means, and it should be abolished as a communicating symbol. We need to speak about what children do, how they behave, what they say, all in reference to exactly defined situational stimuli.

A small but precise inquiry of the kind suggested is Seeman's (61) work on eighty-one Negro children in three suburban third to sixth grade classes. He sought by means of friendship choices and interviews to discover the importance of skin color differences. After giving a social acceptance scale, the author used the analysis of variance to determine significance of choice. Younger children in particular preferred lightskin friends but did not on inquiry as a rule verbalize their preferences. Seeman's own cautious conclusion was that "color values may serve as a frame of reference for friendship choices long before these values become associated with the life tasks of childhood, or with the conscious status striving that comes at a later period."

At more advanced age levels, the situation is not quite so confusing. An earlier study is that of Young (77), in which college students in a race problems course ranked ethnic groups according to their assumed abilities. At the end of the course, the same test showed no change in ethnic-group rank order positions, a finding often cited as proof that instruction has no efficacy in changing attitudes. Student views could, of course, have become more favorable, with the whole scale shifting upward.

In respect to classroom instruction, Whisler (72) found significant end-test changes in two college social science classes. Ford (26), using Bogardus and Hinckley scales but with no control group, found marked shift in attitudes toward Negroes in his "race and immigration" course. Billings (4), using scales and a control group, found more liberal attitudes in his seminar and field trip group than among the controls, altho he noted the greater liberalism of experimental subjects prior to their experiences in the social problems course. Three years later, on the same test, liberal attitudes had decreased, yet were still more favorable toward the Negro than were control group responses. Some writers have reported no reliable change in ethnic attitudes as a result of field trip or personal contact experiences, whereas Smith (63), in one of the most exact pre-test and end-test studies to date, found large and significant change in favorableness toward Negroes (7.36 times its standard error). About two-thirds of the students who were retested eleven months after the experiment had kept their gains.

In an exhaustive review of school and college studies where efforts were made to change attitudes thru class instruction, field trips, audiovisual aids, etc., Rose (60: G-18) rated thirty-one of the attempts as showing change, sixteen no change, and nine indefinite. Presumably, change was in line with teacher expectation, not counter to it, as at times has been reported. His conclusion is that ethnic attitudes at the college level, while deep rooted and tenacious, can be changed by college instruction, a point of view with which the present writer fully agrees.

In addition to more sensitive testing instruments, we need better experimental designs. For example, what is a course, a field trip, etc.? What,

precisely, are its component elements, its stimulus content? Knowing this, we might then subject teaching technics to comparative test, with tremendous savings in time, energy, and costs.

### **The School's Conflicting Role**

Time was when one had to speculate on the school's role in community life or else fall back on descriptive studies such as the work of Counts (15). That day is passing. On the one hand, some schools are working vigorously to reduce ethnic tensions, to democratize school life and learning. On the other hand, studies are beginning to appear which show some schools in quite a different role, that of transmitting to all children the viewpoints of the community power system. While we do not regard these studies as sufficient for any sweeping generalization, their data are extremely suggestive.

Best evidence of this newer research to school functions is found in the systematic analysis of Warner, and others (69), in case studies by Davis and Dollard (19), and in smaller statistical surveys (11, 28). In school attendance, choice of curriculums, pupil social status, teacher rewards and punishments, administrative control, board membership and operation, white upper class or upper middle class children are definitely favored. All non-white children in the schools studied, all non-native born of native parentage, all non-Protestant creedal groupings, are disadvantaged, as are most young people who live in urban slum areas. Bilinguals, wherever they are, face school adjustments the severity of which few teachers seem to understand (6, 43). A relevant fact of some worth has to do with school books in current use. Textbook authors in particular, judging from Wilson's (75) study of 413 volumes, aid and abet what one writer has called the "miseducative" process. In all, there is reason to believe that many schools and colleges are more or less aligned with the nation's caste-class order.

The type of data just reported is obviously subject to two interpretations. For one who assumes the worth of democratic ideals, any inequality in any part of the educational program is disapproved. Any admission of differences as between ethnic, religious, or income groups is viewed with suspicion, lest it be misinterpreted. There is a strong compulsion, as Woodard (76) noted, "to have findings come out on the exact dotted line of equal national, class, and racial abilities."

Equal abilities are not always true, if true at all, and the idea itself may be quite out of line with logical expectation. For instance, the higher the socioeconomic status of parents, the greater on the average the abstract intelligence of their children. Again, the greater the denial of privilege, the more the overt repression, the greater the probability of compensatory adjustments, such as bitterness, clannishness, shiftlessness, and crime. Thus a nation's people are not alike and equal. Differences en masse do exist, altho overlapping between studied populations is always pronounced.

It should be added that differences, so far as is known, are environmental and acquired, not inborn via racial heredity.

Running counter to the democratic ideal is the status quo viewpoint, the preservation of the present industrial-commercial power system. Schools are viewed as an instrument of this policy, a bulwark against any radical change. The school's chief job is to teach the intellectual tools of the culture, the technologies and physical science foundations, and certainly not to experiment in equalitarian living. Educate for continuity, for stability, for efficiency, not for new freedoms for some underprivileged group, new scope for initiative and achievement. Keep America a native white Protestant middle class business man's culture.

It has been noted that some schools are working vigorously at intergroup education and the statement needs brief documentation. Three books (1, 8, 10) have appeared on the so-called "Springfield Plan," not one of an objective research character. Taba and Van Til (65) have edited a social studies yearbook on school practices, and Taba and Wilson (66) have published an article on the nationwide public schools project which she directs. Cook (12, 13) has described procedures and given statistics on participation in the first year of the four year *College Study in Intergroup Relations*. Thirty-five study and experimental action groups were formed in the eight cooperating colleges, involving 429 staff members and school heads, with group meetings for the year totalling over 1000. City school systems (24, 48), mayors' councils (56), state and federal committees (9, 50), and intercultural agencies (45, 57) continue to publish pamphlet materials. In the writer's files are over 2000 of these issues, each dated since 1945. Progress reports (64) have begun to appear by the staff of a nationwide study, under sponsorship of the American Council on Education, of eighteen cooperative public-school systems.

### Group Management Techniques

Intergroup education, in all of its dimensions, is not unlike a pyramid. At the apex, we would put knowledge about people, who they are, how they live, what is known to be good for them. At one base would be study methods, including appraisal of any kind of planned program. At the other base we would put group management, the social process by which a group is guided toward the achievement of its objectives. In this phase of intergroup education, schools and colleges have much to learn from community group work agencies, church and civic bodies, labor and farmer organizations, adult education, opinion polling and publicity outfits.

*Action for Unity* (70) sets the frame, in an exploratory way, for consideration of recent "technic" literature. This little book is a hit-skip survey of mainline direct action agencies in twelve urban centers, plus the insights of its distinguished author. Of chief interest are seven core patterns of action: exhortation, education, participation, revelation, negotiation, contention, and prevention. Categories are overlapping, as they



would likely be in any classification. Each is appraised as to its effectiveness in reducing or preventing intergroup hostilities, with research needs in the forefront of the writer's thinking.

Several writers, for example Whyte (73), have criticized certain slum area agencies, especially social settlements, for their indifference to local leadership, a point pressed even more sharply by Hughes (38), tho no one of the writers deals in any adequate way with the difficult problem of moving away from imposed, paternalistic programs. Hughes' (39) description of "ethnic group knitting" in a factory situation, plus his strictures on management, and Hall's (33) account of how Negro soldiers fared in the armed forces, suggest new leads for experimental civic action. Houser (37), himself the experimenter, gives a good tho brief report on small-group tactics in opening restaurants to colored patrons, barber shops, skating rinks, swimming pools, and the like.

Action projects reported by schools are increasing in number. Brameld (7) found evidence of pupil group action, often teacher led, in a survey of seven urban school systems, as did Cunningham, et al (17), and Vickery and Cole (67). An intercultural committee (24), typical of such committees in every part of the nation, surveyed "promising practices" in Detroit schools, some being group action projects. A North Central Association committee (57), Cook and Forsyth (14), and Lett (46), have discussed group work strategies within the school framework. On the whole, the reports we have examined glow too much. Were the job half as easy as it is made to seem, it would be foolish to reiterate the need for trained leadership.

The Roman Catholic Church has a well known, well set up, well working, social action program. What about Protestantism? A survey by Landis (43) of the eleven largest denominations, accounting for twenty-nine of the nation's thirty-six million Protestants, showed that all had set up national staffs to foster Christian social action. Almost all of these denominations went on record as favoring church action in every area of our common life. The effectiveness of their work was seriously questioned. Programs were still embryonic, with state and national groups publicizing resolutions on the evils of the day. Staffs were not well trained, budgets inadequate, but the outlook appeared hopeful. The situation was regarded as a challenge to any social scientist interested in helping out.

### Retrospect and Outlook

For perspective on the trend in education under review, one should perhaps have worked in the field as late as a decade ago. Newspapers did not editorialize on the subject. There were few good books and fewer movies such as RKO's *Crossfire* and *Gentlemen's Agreement*. Goodwill and good neighbor commissions were almost unknown. Schools, by and large, were indifferent, churches well adjusted to the caste-class system (30), college courses quite academic, labor unions with no great power.

Research went on, much as now, but without the present exacting self criticism and improvement. It was the war that turned the tide, the need for productive and defensive unity. Since then, in spite of backwashes, the nation has been aroused. Warm discussions can be heard on almost any street corner, in Pullman car washrooms, around bridge tables, in exclusive clubs. Intergroup relations has become a big business. At last count, there were 150 goodwill and good neighbor organizations at work in the nation (12), spending about 20.7 million dollars a year, each with an "educational" program.

What is the educational researcher's interest in all of this? It is, in the main, to assist in the understanding of intergroup relations in and about the school, to analyse their effects on individuals and the community, and where possible, to bring these behaviors by experimental action into line with democratic ideals. Thus the scientist should be an invaluable ally to any effort by school or agency to engineer social justice, equal rights, or whatever the educational objective happens to be. In this sense, science would function in society as the reality principle does in personality. Whether or not a society, or even a representative community, can ever be led to face reality, and what would happen to its members if it did, is a question of great importance and complexity. It is only as we move deeper into the function of "prejudice" in personality structure (34), multiply and coordinate efforts, that we shall ever know the answer.

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## CHAPTER III

### The Social Studies

ROY A. PRICE, RICHARD W. BURKHARDT, VICTOR MINOTTI

A REVIEW of educational research involves an attempt to establish criteria of selection by means of which research studies may be identified. Establishment of such criteria, difficult in any area, is especially difficult in the field of citizenship education. Englehart (32) in presenting suggestions with respect to experimentation under school conditions offers the usual concept of research dealing largely with statistical interpretation, single variables, and controlled conditions. Judged in the light of this concept research in the teaching of citizenship is almost nonexistent. There is need for careful statistical research in citizenship education. Yet the quest for social wisdom necessarily involves insights derived from philosophical considerations which inevitably must be value judgments concerning relationships among human beings.

The social sciences are radically different from the natural sciences in that social causation and analysis are radically different. Every social fact must be analyzed in a body of meaning and interpreted in terms of our own social philosophy. That philosophic consideration of human values is basic in citizenship education is revealed in such publications as *Education in a Free Society*, *Education for All American Youth*, and *Educational Services for Young Children*.

### The Social Studies Curriculum

The nature of the task confronting education in the social studies is indicated in the Twenty-Third Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators (2). The need is indicated for teaching appreciation of America's past and instilling faith in America's future, and for developing self-control in pupils, a realistic attitude toward change, constructive attitudes toward the operation of government, and spiritual and ethical values. Crary (22) listed training in critical thinking, development of attitudes and teaching of democratic human relations, creation of a constructive world outlook, and teaching the implications of atomic energy as among the challenging areas in the social studies curriculum. Beery (12) investigated currently held conceptions of democracy and found a vast majority in agreement upon respect for the individual, equality, reliance upon rational methods, liberty, and faith in the common man. Inconsistencies and disagreements, however, appeared in the application of principles.

### Courses of Study

Meredith (60), in a secondary school curriculum survey, found great diversity in course offerings and reported the disappearance of ancient, medieval, and modern history courses in line with the increasing popularity of the one-year World History course. Increased emphasis was given to the Pacific, The Far East, Russia, Latin America, International Affairs, Economic and Social Planning, Global and Air Age Geography, Intercultural Relations, and Community Study. Haas (41), as the result of a questionnaire study in Wisconsin, also reported the almost complete abolition of ancient, medieval, English, and modern history, and the wide adoption of Problems of Democracy as an integrating course in the last two years of the secondary schools. Haas also reported that about one-fifth of the curriculum was devoted to the social studies. Barton (10) found that in New Jersey high schools, smaller schools gave greater attention to social studies than larger schools and that there was a tendency to give pupils of less academic ability greater amounts of time in social studies courses.

Storm (78) reported from an examination of twenty-one courses of study that great emphasis was placed upon democratic group living thru symbolism, holiday observance, biography, and direct teaching of intercultural relations. Baker (7) analyzed written questions of elementary school children and reported great diversity of interests, with animal life, war, and curiosity about the human body prominently mentioned. Little interest was found in the local community.

Scrafford (73) experimented with paired groups in English and civics at the ninth-grade level. He discovered that with separate classes in English and Civics, but with the work correlated, there was a slightly greater gain than in completely separated classes. Greater gains were found where one teacher conducted both English and civics classes, and the most positive gain occurred where both teachers were present for a double period.

Five studies investigated specific aspects of the course of study. Shaw (74) presented for emphasis a list of 500 names which were selected by analysis of periodical literature. Steinberg (77) concluded from a textbook study that "The really great statesmen of the Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Lincoln stamp were frequently treated obliquely, the soloist was drowned in the accompaniment." Technics of education regarding installment buying were studied by Rondileau (70) who found that consumers did not possess sufficient knowledge, and made suggestions as to content and grade placement of consumer information. Barnett (9) by use of pre-test and final tests found that pupils knew 15 percent to 80 per cent of material before the pre-test, and after studying units knew 32 percent to 100 percent of the items covered. He concluded that, on the basis of the evidence presented, curriculum material should be suited

to a range of abilities if our present classification technics continue to exist. Junge (50) submitted a list of concepts and generalizations in geography to geographers and to public-school teachers. She found general agreement as to concepts and generalizations to be taught on physical and economic geography and wide divergency on factors of political and social geography.

### **Community and Regional Resources**

Significant emphasis upon study of community and regional resources is found in the literature. Ivey (46) presented regional development as a problem of relationship and suggested education for scientific resource management. Hansen (42) observed that "we have had ample demonstration during the last two decades of the chaos that does result from a highly centralized, industrially dominated 'culture' in which human beings are treated as fragmentary parts of society, never as whole human beings participating as such in that society," and reported the Montana study launched in 1944 by the state board of education as a program of activated research in human resources consisting of a number of experimental studies now under way in several small communities thruout the state. Dabney (24) took residence in a small mid-western community to study how the community prepared young people for citizenship. She concluded that "community life did not bring young people into intimate association with leaders in government, business, and the professions. . . . Young people had no reason to feel that they belonged or were an integral part of the community." Bates (11) found that industrialists, youth, and citizens generally favored greater emphasis on social education, democratic principles, and citizenship education.

### **Student Achievement and Opinion**

Six studies reported were devoted to measurement of achievement and opinion of students. Abraham (1) in an attempt to measure effectiveness of American history courses on the high-school level found that the poor members of the thirteenth grade did as well as the average of the eleventh grade on an American history test indicating that eleventh and twelfth grade instruction had been to some extent at least effective. He also reported a low level of knowledge about institutions and procedures of the social environment. Dimond (26) studied the governmental attitudes of high-school seniors and found a wide range of governmental attitudes, and that there was no indication that a large proportion of students was either extremely cynical and critical or extremely idealistic about the conduct of government. High-school seniors were found to be idealistic about many governmental matters and cynical about few matters, but few high-school seniors (15 percent) expressed the desire to become candidates for public office in later life. Gates (38) discovered a connection between academic ability in subjectmatter areas dealing with civic information and willingness to accept civic responsibility. Bolton (15)



reported a significant correlation between growth in social studies vocabulary and the number of social studies courses taken. Burkhardt (17) found that high-school students knew fewer salient facts about the Soviet Union than facts of secondary importance, and that there was a relationship between the amount of information possessed and the opportunity to study the Soviet Union. A comparison of mean scores of various groups on age, length of school year, classrooms, class size, size of school, departmentalization, etc. was reported by Eaton (30).

### **The Learning Situation**

#### **The Pupil**

In any discussion of teaching and learning, primary attention must be focused upon the pupil who is modifying old behaviors and acquiring new patterns of behavior. The Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (64), Part I, presents a compilation of the recent information about adolescence. The Fifteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (63) similarly brings together useful information on adapting instruction to individual differences. Gerlach (39) found that Texas teachers, recognizing the infinitude of individual differences, did not want homogeneous grouping in their classes, but did want an opportunity to estimate pupil effort at grading periods.

#### **Teacher-Pupil Relationships**

Thompson and Hunnicutt (80) found differences in the reaction to praise and blame between introverts and extroverts. Repeated praise increased the work output of introverts more than blame, conversely, repeated blame increased the output of extroverts more than praise. Potter (68) had earlier shown a difference in the effectiveness of reproof in relation to age in school children. The experimental, or reproof group, showed impaired performance in grade three, improved performance in grade six, and little change not due to practice in grades nine and twelve.

#### **Pupil's Interests**

Out-of-school interests of pupils vary markedly. Dyer (29) reported that of 200 students selected from 2000, the average pupil reads eight books besides those assigned. He attends one movie per week; may attend five or more religious services per week, altho four attended none. The average student spent two hours per day for study, three hours listening to the radio, and thirty minutes reading the paper. Feingold (33) studied the newspaper interests of high-school pupils and reported that of 722 pupils in grades nine to twelve, 3 percent read no newspaper at all, 78 percent read the paper at home, 69 percent read more than one paper daily, 51 percent spent fifteen to thirty minutes reading the paper, 26 percent spent up to sixty minutes, 23 percent spent more than one hour. Fendrick (34) found that among high-school and college students about

half read the newspaper regularly, and that there was a preference for photographs, comics and cartoons, sports and entertainment, foreign and travel news, in that order. The students disliked financial news and speeches. Girls preferred book reviews, religious news, poetry, scandal, and society items.

### Reading and Learning

Witty (88) reported that much of the Army experience in reading is valid for postwar school reading since successful practice was based upon good school theory. Functional methods and materials, visual aids to accelerate learning, strong motivation, clear objectives and specific purposes, integrating and correlating all activity, small classes, supplementary materials, demonstration, and applicatory exercises were all found to be highly successful. MacLatchy (57) found that when Navy visual form training was used in schools, children improved significantly in learning to read as compared to those in the control group.

### Scope of Learning Opportunity

Some attention has been given recently to the adequacy of materials of instruction especially in terms of teaching international relations. The American Council on Education has sponsored several examinations of textbooks to determine what they do and do not say about our international neighbors. Two of these studies on Latin America and Asia which were under the direction of Howard E. Wilson, have already been published. Hart (43) in a summary of the findings of a study of *Latin America in School and College Teaching Materials* indicated that textbooks contained inaccuracies and prejudices, but not conscious antagonisms. *The Treatment of Asia in American Textbooks* (83) reiterated that other lands and other peoples are not well known to American writers, with the result that writers tend to rely upon stereotypes and outworn generalizations; that the presentation of other lands and populations is regularly brief, uneven in emphasis, and condescending in tone. McLendon (58) concluded from a textbook survey that the South as a region generally received an insignificant amount of space in social studies textbooks. In five American history textbooks studied from 4.5 percent to 10 percent of the page space specifically concern the South, and that most of the references to the South applied to the period before 1875. Hauck (44), from a test of student knowledge of United States and Canadian textbooks, found students inadequately informed about Canadian-United States relations and that most textbooks do not provide adequate coverage on this subject.

### Procedures and Outcomes

From answers to a questionnaire on current instructional problems in secondary-school social studies, Michaelis (61) reported that the most

important problems were clarification of objectives, identification of procedures for achieving major outcomes, and the evaluation of the aims of instruction. Altho there is some evidence to the contrary [see Lippitt (56)] Jayne (48) was unable to find any relationship between teacher acts and pupil gains. Doll (27) found that pupils had well-defined attitudes toward teaching procedures as revealed in a questionnaire which used a continuum marked from *laissez faire* thru democratic to authoritarian classifications of methods of teaching. Pupils preferred democratic procedures, appreciated guidance but not thwarting of their creative impulses, and found more flaws in conventional teaching than did teachers. Friedman (37) found that pupils did not agree among themselves as to the best way to learn dates. He concluded that pupil interest must be supplemented by factors of learnability and utility as determined by the teacher. Traxler (82) could find no significant differences in the knowledge of facts in United States history among students from schools with progressive or conservative educational outlook. Schoefield (72) found boys to be more persistent than girls in a learning situation, a positive correlation between persistence and average achievement, and an association between underachievement and factors of restlessness and less persistence. Anderson (5) reported that eighth-grade pupils who had home study assignments made significantly better scores on tests covering the material studied than did pupils who did not study at home. Gorman (40) found that 80 percent of elementary-school teachers reported that discussion was the most effective method and that the project method and directed study were favorably mentioned by teachers. Knower, Phillips, and Koeppel (52) found that silent reading was a more effective means of learning than listening to a speech, competent speakers were more effective than untrained ones, and when visual aids were added to a speech the contents were more easily remembered. Jayne's (47) experiment with lectures and silent films as teaching devices showed visual experience alone to be least effective, a combination of both superior to either one alone. Stutz (79) concluded that, in terms of understanding of concepts involved, classes did not make significant gains in understanding when their study of verbal material was aided by the addition of textbook illustrations. Wrightstone (89) reported the superiority of the activity program in the elementary school in achieving attitudes, interest, critical thinking, and initiative, and also equal effectiveness with longer established programs in attaining other educational goals such as basic skills. Torrens (81) reported the usefulness of current events discussions in creating pupil interest which carried over to other classroom work.

### Measurement and Evaluation

Much of the material in the field of measurement and evaluation in the social studies appears in general studies. While the entire February 1947 issue of the REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH is pertinent to the social



studies, the chapter by Ellis and Gerberich (31) is of special interest in its summary of studies in the areas of interests and attitudes. McNemar's (59) review of opinion-attitude methodology includes valuable references for further study in the measurement of attitudes, and the general work of Remmers and Gage (69) on educational measurement and evaluation contains methods and technics on the evaluation of attitudes and related aspects. The most recent comprehensive survey of measurement in the field of social studies is that by Anderson and others (4). Their organization and statement of objectives as they relate to measurement are especially worthy of further study.

### Studies of Published Tests

The content and validity of specific tests have been investigated in several studies. Two reports deal with the United States Armed Forces Institute Tests of General Educational Development: Bradley (16) presents data in support of the validity of the section on the Interpretation of Reading Materials in the Social Studies with the criteria of validity being grade point averages, number of hours of study the testees have had in social studies, and grade placement; Donahue (28) reports, among other norms, those of students of the University of Michigan on the section on the Interpretation of Reading Materials in the Social Sciences.

Chauncey (19) described the purpose, nature, and content of the Social Studies Test of the College Entrance Examination Board and on the basis of a study of 650 students concluded that "the social studies test has as high a correlation with freshman grade averages as the Scholastic Aptitude Test of the College Entrance Examination Board."

The nature of the content of standardized tests is analyzed in two studies. Neill (66) in an examination of 155 standardized tests in general use in the United States (all published within the last five years, 1939-44) to ascertain the nature and extent of the materials in these tests dealing with Latin America found that few of the tests dealt with the people of Latin America and that scant attention was paid to their customs and living conditions. In an analysis of seven standardized tests of American history to determine the extent to which the tests emphasized the representative dates and persons mentioned as important in the Wesley Report, Park (67) found that these dates and persons were not emphasized and that in some of the tests examined they did not even appear.

### Measurement of Newer Values

Attempts to measure newer values in the social studies are continuing and are reported in several studies. Williams and Abraham (87) described the construction of one of the examinations prepared for high school by the Examinations Staff of the Armed Forces Institute and expressed the belief that the test is a useful contribution to measurement of often neglected objectives of the social studies. They concluded that the test meas-

ures the ability to reach valid conclusions. Friedman and Marti (36) reported that the general understanding of time concepts is positively, but only slightly, related to the factors of grade level, intelligence and semester grades in world history, but systematic instruction in time concepts did result in significant improvement. Anderson and others (3), summarizing an experiment in teaching certain skills of critical thinking, discuss briefly the test materials used for the evaluation of these skills. Both Lindsey's (54) and Wrightstone's (89) studies include valuable suggestions for developing evaluation technics useful in appraising outcomes of elementary education. Horrocks' (45) study of the relationship existing between knowledge of fact and principle about human development and the ability to apply those facts in diagnosis and remediation presents a useful technic for the evaluation of an important objective of social studies instruction.

Of the many studies not directly concerned with evaluation in the social studies, four may be reported for their values in the improvement of testing technics in all areas. Tyler and Chalmers (84) reported that warning pupils before a test had very little effect on test scores; Curtis and Darling (23) found that "new type" true-false tests were more reliable, more popular with the students, more discriminating, and eliminated the element of chance; Detchen (25) suggested that interest or activity items on an interest inventory may be used for another purpose than that of occupational analysis and indicated that student performance is a combination of more than ability and past performance in a field of study; Angell (6) studied the effect of the immediate knowledge of quiz results on final examinations and found significant gain as a result of the immediacy of knowledge.

## Human Relationships

### Intergroup Relationships

Research in the field of social relationships may be divided into two groups: studies of intergroup education and studies of social relationships within the group.

The Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (62), while not a research study, is valuable for its presentation of promising practices in intergroup education in the social studies and may be read with profit for its wealth of materials and numerous references to recent research in intergroup education. Bolton and English (14) in their study of attitudes about war and peace describe a technic for appraising attitudes as a basis for curriculum adjustments. Several studies shed light on the problem of modifying or changing attitudes, suggesting that the task at best is a very difficult process and that current educational methods must undergo drastic revision if change in group attitudes is to be effected. Chein and Laks (20) studied attitudes of subjects within a precinct area and concluded that ". . . you cannot deal with these prejudices by develop-

ing the intellect or by acquiring knowledge." Smith (75) expressed the opinion that war did not provide an education in internationalism because as individuals we were unprepared to benefit from it and charged that the schools have provided virtually no basis for the proper appreciation of other peoples. That there is some hope for modifying attitudes thru the educational process was reported by Smith (76) in a study describing the changed attitudes towards Negroes resulting from brief professional and social contacts of white students with cultured Negroes. Russell and Robertson (71) also reported the effects of assembly programs and reading and discussion of materials on the attitudes of junior high-school pupils, finding some favorable changes in attitude but concluding that teachers' attitudes and behavior were the most potent influences.

### **Social Relationships within the Group**

The nature of social relationships within the group has been investigated by a number of studies, chief among which is that of Jennings (49) who analyzed the sociometric choice processes and the interrelationships involved in leadership and isolation. She concluded that leadership and isolation are the products of interpersonal interaction rather than attributes within persons, and that both leaders and isolates vary widely among themselves in personality traits but as a group are differentiated by their capacity for interplay with other personalities. In a study of social class and friendship among school children Neugarten (65) reported that friendship status and reputation of school children in a typical middle class community are found to parallel social class positions; Cook (21) in a study of the friendship structure of a group of tenth-grade pupils found that the friendship structure for each semester remained fairly stable and that in general all of the sociograms showed the upper class children to have been over-chosen. The nature of popularity was investigated by Young and Cooper (90) who found that the factors significantly related to popularity were extroversion, sense of personal worth, and a feeling of belonging. They also reported that facial expression is associated with popularity more closely than is appearance of clothing. Kerr (51) describes an experimental study using the sociometric technic in determining the status of individuals in a fifth-grade group.

The problem of influencing social relationships within a group was studied by Link (55) who contributed several significant findings in regard to the measurement and development of leadership and social effectiveness and stated two important implications of his study for citizenship education: "... there is no correlation between social intelligence and social effectiveness" and "[there is] the necessity of an almost revolutionary change in the present educational system." Flory, Alden, and Simmons (35) in an experiment to determine whether classroom teachers can improve the personality adjustment of their children found that, measured by the California Personality Test, significant improvement was obtained

by the teachers concentrating their efforts on twenty-six pupils who had shown poor adjustment on the test. An experiment in the modification of social relationships reported by Van Til and Rath (85) indicated that social travel can decrease social distance and contribute to the development of common concerns and the fostering of associated living.

### Teacher Education

An increase in the offering of geography courses in teacher-education institutions in the United States was found by Bellotti (13). Landsittel (53) reported a study of the needs of secondary school social studies teachers in which American history, European history, community government were found to be most important in the schools and also made recommendations as to the major needs in graduate work. Baker (8) found that teacher-education institutions located in metropolitan communities are favored in developing programs in intergroup education and recommended democratic environment, field experiences, lectures and forums, and courses in anthropology in teacher-training institutions. In another survey of colleges Caliver (18) also reported the inadequacy of facilities provided for teachers in learning about our minority groups and about intercultural education. Lippitt (56) used two equated classes of students in a teachers college to determine basic elements of a sound teaching process. The experimental group, in which the class determined technics, rules and regulations, achieved greater insight into problems of classroom leadership, worked harder and developed greater skill than did the control class using a reading and lecture method. A study of the effectiveness of supervisory technics was reported by Von Eschen (86) who found greatest growth in achievement in some of the less traditional educational objectives such as silent-reading ability and basic-study skills.

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## CHAPTER IV

### Adult Education for Citizenship

HOWARD Y. McCLUSKY

THE case for the education of adults for effective citizenship is overwhelming. In a society based on the consent of the governed, the 8.4 grades of formal schooling attained by the average adult past twenty-five years of age in the United States is meagre preparation for the responsibilities of citizenship. Practically every major issue of current domestic and international affairs has arisen since the majority of adults left school. Yet the education of adults for citizenship has received only a fraction of the research attention which its importance requires. There is, however, a ferment abroad which is already promising a partial correction of this neglect.

#### Attitudes toward Public Affairs

Much investigation related to the education of adults for citizenship is topically marginal. That is, it is often one phase of a larger subject. Consider for example, the field of public opinion research. A great body of this effort deals with opinions about soaps, cigarettes, foods, automobiles, and other commodities of the market place. But the bearing of public opinion research on problems of adult citizenship is already impressive. The vast majority of those taking part in polls are adults. A comprehensive analysis of this field would leave little room for other topics of this review. However, some reference should be made to this burgeoning area of inquiry.

One formidable source of data on attitudes toward public affairs is produced by the four-times-a-year "Barometer of Public Attitudes" conducted by the Psychological Corporation under the supervision of Link (18). Data on the following questions presented in the latest report of this nationwide poll are ample proof of the relevance of this field for adult citizenship. What does Americanism mean to the American people? Are unions and the closed shop good Americanism? Should all races have equal job opportunities? Is private capitalism and the profit system good Americanism or bad? Now that the war is over, do you think we will make a peace settlement that will last, or do you think that we will have another world war in twenty-five years or so?

An even more prolific source of data in this area are the files of the *Public Opinion Quarterly* (12). In addition to research on public affairs, an important department of this periodical is the compilation, topically arranged, of poll results released by the American, British, Canadian, and French Institutes of Public Opinion, *Fortune Magazine*, National Opinion Research Center, the Danish, Finnish, Brazilian, Norwegian, and Swedish Gallup Polls, and the Netherlands Foundation for Statistics. This Journal

contains the most comprehensive record of public opinion research appearing in the period covered by this review. Data on adult attitudes toward some of the following topics are presented in the Spring 1947 number of the quarterly: atomic energy, civil rights, economics, industrial relations, housing, international relations, labor unions, pressure groups, politics, prices, strikes, and wages. Another source of information is *Opinion News*, a fortnightly digest of outstanding polls and surveys published by the National Opinion Research Center (22).

Blankenship (3) and Cantril (8) have brought out the two most important books in the field. McNemar (19) composed a critical review of opinion-attitude methodology, while Smith, Lasswell, and Casey (26) have brought up to date their well-known 1935 edition of *Propaganda and Promotional Activities* under a new title of *Propaganda, Communication and Public Opinion*. This is the most discriminating and comprehensive bibliography on public opinion now available, and as such is an important tool for research workers in the field.

### Political Behavior

In an interesting quantitative study of political behavior for the period 1840-1940 Kerr (16) found a relationship between an increase of economic activities and an increase in conservative voting. In confirmation of the frustration-aggression hypothesis he discovered that hard times are followed by an increasing opposition to the conservative political bloc, and that increased suicides are usually followed by an increase in liberal votes. His article also contains a useful bibliography of nineteen items.

An extensive and frontier application of the techniques of the public-opinion poll was reported by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (17). The scope and cooperative character of the study foreshadows the type of research which the importance of adult citizenship requires. It examined how the voters of Erie County, Pennsylvania, made up their minds in the presidential campaign of 1940. By the use of repeated interviews of the same people it sought answers to the following questions: What is the effect of social status upon voting? How are people influenced by party conventions and the nominations? What role does formal propaganda play? How about the press and radio? What of the influence of family and friends? Why do people vote as they do? Construction of indexes of political predisposition, breadth of opinion, magazine and newspaper reading, radio listening, general exposure, political exposure bias, and agreement with arguments of either side was an important technical outcome of the investigation. Among other results they found that poor, uneducated voters show the lowest interest in the election and the more prosperous, educated ones the highest; also that older people have more interest in the election than younger, and that twice as many women failed to vote as men.

### Studies of Participation

With some reason, a considerable body of writers contend that participation of adults in civic and educational activities is the essence of an alert citizenship. This view is clearly central to the idea of government "by the people" whether the government is legal or nonlegal. A penetrating discussion of the psychological component of participation has been set down by Allport (2). In a study of participation in cultural and educational activities in Springfield, Massachusetts, Kaplan (14) interviewed 5,000 men and women. He found that 33 percent participated in none of the activities studied, that only 39 percent had organizational affiliations, and that only 11 percent took part in forums. In all cases there was a high correlation between participation and socio-economic status. Bushee (7) found a much higher percentage (71 percent) of organizational affiliation in Boulder, Colorado. The role of the League of Women Voters as a pressure group for good government was studied by Brumbaugh (5).

### Programs of Self-Study

One of the highest forms of civic behavior is the examination by the adult of the circumstances which condition the style and level of his living. If adults can lay hold of the basic facts surrounding their lives, they are better equipped to exercise the controls essential to self-management. Two superior examples of this type of effort have recently appeared. One, the result of four years of work, is a compilation of basic data on Georgia brought together by the Citizens Fact-Finding Movement of that state (9). The other is an occupational inventory of the number and kinds of jobs in Cuyahoga (Cleveland), Ohio (23). For purposes of this review the distinguishing feature of these two studies is that they are examples of competent research undertaken jointly by lay and professional adult leaders. They indicate that under proper technical supervision, the layman may be a productive research worker.

### Programs of Community Self-Help

One proof of the quickening interest of adults in civic affairs is a growing nation-wide movement for community self-help. This movement takes many forms. In some places it is the layman's part of rural (land use) and urban planning. In other places it is the growing educational frontier of the council of social agencies. In most cases, it involves a large amount of community organization, so much so that from the viewpoint of the writer too many persons are too much occupied with structure of operation and too little concerned with functions and goals. Many years of experience at national, state, and local levels with governmental and non-governmental agencies leads the writer to propose community self-help as the general overall objective of these various efforts, while community organization is a means of community self-help and single or multiple community and citizens councils are forms of community organization.

In spite of its diffuse and amorphous character, the movement for community self-help is tangible and promising, but because of its diffuseness, complexity, and recency it still lacks adequate description and appraisal. Some interesting writing is appearing, however.

Working out of the Extension Division of the University of Virginia, the Ogdens (24) have brought together appraisals of thirty-four citizens' programs. They presented no quantitative measures, but the last three chapters of their book might form a guide for quantification in this field. The Committee for Kentucky (10) and the Georgia (13) and New York State Citizens Councils, 309 McBride Street, Syracuse, New York, are too recent to have produced important documents, yet the New York Citizens Council is cooperating with many of the colleges and universities in conducting an analysis of community satisfactions and leadership, and plans are underway for a similar use of research workers in both Kentucky and Georgia.

But wherever programs have established roots, more adequate reports of their achievement have emerged. For example, as participant observer, Reid (25) described an experiment in coordinating community, state, and federal agencies for the purpose of assisting the people of Taos County, New Mexico, to help themselves. His exposition of process is clear and nontechnical and such tangible outcomes as better roads, health agencies, schools, irrigation, and library services are reported. With neither the manner nor the documentation of a sober research publication, Alinsky (1) outlined the operations of a people's organization. Stressing the necessity of a global attack and the use of indigenous leadership he based his exposition largely on the experience of the Back of the Yards Council in Chicago.

In order to find out how the lives of people in a rural state and of their families and communities may be enriched, Brownell and Meadows (4, 20, 21) set up the Montana Study, a unique project in community research. At this stage most of the reports are tentative in character, but the project was one of the most inventive applications of the humanities and social sciences to community adult education ever attempted by a state.

The most penetrating account of community self-help now available is Brunner's (6) report of five years of experimentation in community organization and adult education in Greenville County, South Carolina. In his role as consultant observer the author analyzed the mistakes and achievements of the effort and detailed the stages thru which the processes of coordination and education advanced.

None of the preceding projects has employed quantitative measures of appraisal. This deficiency is being corrected by the Michigan Community Service Program in a thoroly planned effort to educate adults for community self-help. In mid-passage the Michigan program has produced only one modest publication (11), but some important reports should be ready for the next cycle of this number of the REVIEW.



## Forecast

The movement for community self-help should be more productive of discriminating publications in the not distant future. A number of developments are under way to support this expectation. The Research Center for Group Dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress are developing technics of action research applicable to this field. The University of North Carolina has added a division of interpretation to its program of social science research, and the University of Kentucky is launching a project of field studies aimed at community betterment. The Metropolitan Area Project and the recently established Survey Research Center and Bureau of Studies in Community Adult Education at the University of Michigan give promise of investigations related to the field of adult citizenship. In addition, the committee on community organization of the American Association for Adult Education, the interim committee on community leadership of the National Planning Association, the American Association for the Study of Community Organization, and the National Institute of Social Relations should soon bring their respective activities to some systematic formulation. The field is growing significantly.

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## Index to Volume XVII, No. 4 October 1947

Page citations are made to single pages; these are often the beginning of a chapter, section, or running discussion dealing with the topic.

- Adolescence, and learning situation, 282
- Adult education, 293; and community organization, 296
- American Council on Education, 259
- Analyses of general education, 262
- Armed Forces Institute, tests, 285
- Attitudes, and instruction, 281; social, 281; toward democracy, 272; toward ethnic groups, 271
- Caste-class hypothesis, and intergroup education, 268
- Citizenship education, 293
- College programs of general education, 261
- Community, and adult education, 296; and school, 294; and self help programs, 295; and self study programs, 295; resources, 281
- Course offerings, in social studies, 280
- Curriculum, social studies, 279
- Democracy, attitudes toward in school, 272
- Educational Policies Commission, 259
- General education, 258; analyses, 262; and teacher education, 263; attitudes toward, 260; college programs, 261; in armed forces, 258; in junior colleges, 261; work experience, 263
- Geography, college course offerings, 288
- Group life of children, 269
- Group management, technics, 273
- Harvard Report, on general education, 259
- Individual differences, in social studies, 282
- Intercultural education, 266
- Intergroup education, 266, 286; caste-class hypothesis, 268; needed research, 275; role of the school, 272; theories, 267; trends, 274
- International relations, 283
- Journal of General Education, 264
- Junior college, and general education, 261
- Learning, and social studies, 282
- Measurement and evaluation, in social studies, 284
- Needed research, in intergroup education, 275
- Negroes, and race relations, 268; attitudes toward, 271; studies of bias, 270
- Out-of-school interests of pupils, 282
- Political behavior, 294
- Polls, of public opinion, 293
- Prejudice, nature and control, 269
- Public opinion, 293
- Pupils interests, 282
- Race relations, 267
- Reading ability, and social studies, 283
- Reading tests, 285
- Regionalism, in social studies, 281
- Social education, 266
- Social studies, 279; adequacy of materials, 283; and reading ability, 283; community resources, 281; courses of study, 280; curriculum, 279; evaluation, 285; objectives, 284; procedures and outcomes, 283; regionalism in, 281; student achievement, 281; teacher education, 288; tests, 285; textbook analysis, 283
- Socialization of children, 269
- Springfield Plan, 273
- Teacher education, 263; in social studies, 288
- Teacher-pupil relations, 282
- Tests, in reading, 285; in social studies, 285
- Textbook analysis, in social studies, 283
- Trends, in intergroup education, 274
- Work experience in general education, 263
- Youth work programs, 263